1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

302 Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature
114 concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and
765 Snethlage,[203] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning; the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otahukayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail; [301] a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakúi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this custom—like the use of the hivakúi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by everybody as to his plans.

302 No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his
462 sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is
177 not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period of several months.

302 No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery. On the other hand, the Ramkõ'kamekra believe that a person who has secured [832] another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her, for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

[804] The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but
303 today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods
177 is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been superseded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example, 321 chief Ropkᾳ', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their tines in the thick Indian hair.

302 The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bath-
303 ing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a consider-
562 able number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands.

[203] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

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304 may cause the loop of skin to tear, henceforth preventing the wearing of ear ornaments since they are never used singly. Pąnhí, once taking over a huge burity log from another racer's shoulders while dashing past, suffered this misfortune. He did not notice anything before passing on the log, when the blood was dripping on his shoulder. I have never heard of the Canella healing the torn ear after the fashion of the Apinayé.[300]

● 301 531 The ordinary plugs are disks of some light (weight) wood, an inch in thickness and dyed red only on the edge. For a ceremony a thick layer of white clay is put on the face of the earplug, which is mostly decorated with black and red designs. There are ringlike plugs of thick bamboo and also wooden disks with round central holes that are sometimes sufficiently large to suggest rings; at times a corded tassel, dyed red, is inserted. The youth in plate 4, *a* has stuck a bit of tobacco twist into the orifice of his plug, not for magical purposes, but simply because the ceremonial costume precludes the use of a pouch for storage. In other plugs the holes have the form of a Greek or Maltese cross. Very rare are heavy plugs of hardened white clay with violet marble-like veins; I have seen them only from the Rąmkõ'kamekra, the material being apparently restricted to the Serra do Alpercatas in their territory. (Pl. 13, *a*.)

Among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye I have seen plugs with four little mother-of-pearl disks cemented into the anterior surface. The Rąmkõ'kamekra have such inserts of mirror glass, but only rarely.

From Pụkóbye I obtained a pair of paca incisors said to be inseta for earplugs. I have never seen such in use among the Eastern Timbira, but observed them at Apinayé initiations. The ear rosettes of the Karayá also bear this ornamentation.[301]

304 171 *Labrets; incisors.*—Except for the Western Gaviões the lower lip is no longer perforated by any Eastern Timbira tribe. The Rąmkõ'kamekra told me that until not very long ago the Eastern Gaviões (Pụkóbye) also had perforated lips. In a mixed company of Krahõ' and Apą'nyekra Martius saw the older people wearing labrets in the form of shining cylinders of yellow rosin or alabaster; they were from 1½ to 3 inches in length and could be easily extracted.[302] Since Pohl, who in the same year saw numerous Krahõ', noted only ears perforated,[303] the labret wearers must have been Apą'nyekra, though their present descendants know nothing of such decoration. For the Põrekamekra Pohl explicitly denies perforation of the lip.[304]

Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra, Apą'nyekra, and Krahõ' the upper incisors of children of both sexes are very often tapped into pointed form with a knife and a little mallet. The practice is rare among the other Eastern Timbira.

304 177 The reverse holds for tattooing, which is very rare among the former, but somewhat more frequent among the Krĩkatí and Pụkóbye. Doubtless borrowed from the Neobrazilians, the decoration as a rule consists merely of a few plain lines or copies of letters on the forearm; it is executed with iron needles and genipa.

386 828 517 *Pigments.*—The Canella have five pigments: 1, black, from rubber latex with powdered charcoal; 2, red, from urucú seeds; 3, yellow, from the juice of the urucú root; 4, bluish black, from the juice of the genipa fruit; 5, white clay. Of these, the first three are applied both to the body and to objects; the fourth serves only to decorate the body; the fifth, with few exceptions, only for objects.

Red urucú, the most common, at once attracts every visitor's notice by its omni-

[300] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 42.
[301] Krause, In den Wildnissen Brasiliens, 224.
[302] Spix and Martius, Reise, 2:819.
[303] Pohl, Reise, 2:211.
[304] *Ibid.*, 2:191.

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are blamed if he should go about unpainted for a considerable period. "So-and-so's sister," gossips will say, "does not look out a bit for her brother! Just look! He has not a particle of urucú on his body!"

Since the preparation of urucú reddens one's hands in any case, the coarser ornamentation on the body is executed with the fingers and palms, little rods being reserved for the fine red lines of the face paint. Stamps and painting-forks are never used in this connection.

These devices are employed however with the black rubber pigment, which is prepared from the latex of a low steppe tree (*Sapium* sp.). A branch is generally hacked off and barked at home. The juice (arą'mhõk) oozing out of the bast is gathered into a gourd bowl, where it may be immediately mixed with powdered charcoal. Alternatively, the pure latex may be painted on the surface, the powder being rubbed in subsequently. Paint of this type often remains visible for a week, and one rarely sees a Timbira without at least some traces of it. Fróes Abreu[xx] has described this pigment, whereas Snethlage ignores it, obviously taking all black paint to be genipa.

Genipa, though used very rarely, is obligatory at certain ceremonies. The apple-like fruits of the genipa tree (porti; *Genipa americana*) are gathered and bisected, then the halves are put into the fire with the plane of bisection on top. As soon as they are heated, one crushes the core with a little rod so that the juice accumulates in the rind, and applies it with a little cotton at the end of a stick. At first the effect remains colorless, but after a few hours the paint turns blackish blue, persisting for over two weeks on unexposed skin. Snethlage mistakenly reports that the stem of the shrub provides the pigment and that there is an admixture of a fine oil.[xx]

Only on a single occasion—the terminal solemnity of the final initiation phase—have I been able to observe the use of the yellow pigment derived from the urucú root for bodily decoration. On the other hand, it is applied more than others to the ornamentation of pouches and mats of burity bast.

The ceremonial combs and the cotton wristlets of the girl associates, as well as the anterior surfaces of earplugs, are colored with white clay. The latter have black and red designs on the white background. White clay I have seen applied as body paint only at the ceremony after the return of a girls' collecting expedition into the steppe and at the hõčwa celebration (p. 63).

The black rubber and the red urucú paint are applied in everyday life, either each by itself for a complete coating or in combination; but complex designs are only executed on special occasions. The ordinary painting is that described by Snethlage: on the front and the back of the body, on the right and the left side, there is a broad vertical stripe in black, with a red one in the middle. The hands and feet are never painted black, but invariably red. The face paint usually comprises vertical red strokes across the forehead, bridge of the nose, mouth, and chin; or across the forehead, eyes, and cheeks; likewise horizontal lines at the corners of the eyes and mouth. The older men do not paint at all after the day of their last log race, nor do old women decorate themselves in this way. Little children are most frequently painted black all over, a procedure supposed to promote their growth.

The Canella painting outfit is comparatively multiform (pl. 14). In addition to the above-mentioned little rods and the brushes made of a cotton wad on a stick,

[xx] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras. 163.
[xx] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 149.

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302 237 The upper margin of the decorated surface is marked by an obtuse angle between the shoulders, the apex lying below their level. From this boundary the decorator glues the down on the body so that it extends halfway down the forearm and lower part of the leg, leaving the genitalia free. The downless parts of the body, excepting usually the face, are reddened with urucú.

The tamhą'k do not wear the continuous down covering of others, but have, both in front and in back, two stripes the width of a hand, one on each side of the body. Each stripe extends from the clavicle or shoulder blade down to the middle of the lower leg. A somewhat narrower stripe of down is glued on the front and the back of each arm. At all joints the stripes are interrupted.

314 [137] 302 For gluing the down the Indians use the almecega rosin of *Hedwigia balsamifera*, which has a very agreeable odor. This is the only pleasant feature in the procedure, which involves the chewing of babassu seeds and spitting the oily juice on the rosin previously smeared over the palms of the hands. Rubbing the palms together produces a somewhat tough, yellow ointment, which is clapped on the subject's skin, and rubbed into it. Then another operator immediately dabs the falcon down on top. So long as the decoration is fresh the wearer looks rather attractive in his snow-white raiment of down. But soon after, especially after bathing, the covering grows very unsightly; however, its vestiges persist for over a week. Hairs, which it is true are almost lacking on the Indian skin, have a disagreeable way of adhering to one another because of the rosin, and wherever a man sits or lies down he gets stuck. I have a veritable horror of this procedure, but as a member of the tamhą'k organization am obliged to submit to it whenever I return to the tribe after a prolonged absence.

302 314 By scraping of the young leafstalks of the paty palm (*Orcus* sp.) one obtains a light pinkish-yellow wool that is stored and applied like falcon down. But while the Apinayé uniformly employ this material in place of falcon down, which is not customary among them, the Rąmkõ'kamekra restrict its use to members of the Duck society.

301 237 177 *Miscellaneous.*—Finger rings (hukrą̃čẽčą) are constantly worn by both sexes. Originally they were black and inconspicuous, being made of the caudal skin of the chameleon (*Iguana tuberculata*) and the teyú (*Tupinambis teguixin*). Today men and women crave silver and brass rings of European make with glass stones. Whenever possible they overload themselves with these ornaments to an unesthetic degree, or suspend them from the necklace, this consisting nowadays mostly of glass beads and some pendant, which occasionally both sexes wear from infancy to old age. However, even today the seeds of a grass (*Scleria* sp.) are fashioned into beads to be strung. In order to be able to perforate them it is necessary to grind them to a point on a whetstone at one spot. This is effected with the aid of a fragment of *Lagenaria* bowl with a little opening just large enough to have the curvature of the *Scleria* seed project somewhat when it is put on top. The worker seizes the slightly bent bowl, presses the seed on top of the hole with the tip of the index finger, and grinds off the projecting curvature.

[137]

[751] Infants often also wear wrist and ankle cords with pendent bits of all sorts of wood and roots or little bones and seeds, to which medicinal virtues are ascribed. Wristbands (mepače) of babassu grass are worn by girls and young men; only the men wear bands of the same material on the upper arm and forehead, as well as knee bands of either cotton or babassu grass (pls. 3, *c*, *d*; 11, *c*, *d*).

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When about four to eight years old the girls wear as festive decoration wooden bracelets, which are sometimes prettily carved.

Boys segregate themselves from girls at an early age. Their first and principal toy is a small bow, which differs from the adults' weapon in having a round cross section (pl. 24, *a*). The first arrows are little rods made from the ribs of palm leaflets (pl. 24, *b*). As the lads grow older, bows and arrows gradually approach the ultimate form, the stave grows flatter, the arrows are feathered and pointed.

Among playthings there are toy guns for shooting maize kernels by means of an elastic strip of bamboo (pl. 23, *g*). Obviously borrowed from Neobrazilians, they share the name of firearms, katõkre (tõk, the report of a gun). Further, the boys have buzzers (pl. 24, *n*), humming tops with a string pulled through the hole in a little board (pl. 24, *i*), small palm-nut tops, miniature imitations of dance masks, animal figurines of wax (pl. 23, *a–f*), and grass figures like those of the Apinayé.[108]

Trick carvings (pl. 24, *o*), games of patience (pl. 24, *m*), and cat's cradle serve for the amusement of bigger boys and girls.

THE BOYS' CLASS

At about six years of age the boys begin to have a sense of age-class solidarity, a fact that strongly affects their relations with their families. No one urges them to form such a company, which is joined quite spontaneously, by some of them earlier, by others later. This is a natural consequence of an environment surcharged with a socioceremonial spirit. As their model they take the youngest of the four official age classes, and whenever this group plays its part in a major ceremonial this has an obviously stimulating effect on the minors.

I first observed this in 1930 at the second ketúaye of the subsequent põhĩtíkama class. About fifteen boys (from among twice that number), mostly six to eight years old united as an unofficial class. *On their own request* the council appointed an instructor, mekapónkate, for them; and he taught them to plait, shoot, sing and dance, explained the ceremonial, and enjoined upon them to be honest and comradely. They went jointly to bathe and hunt, arranged races and log races—in short, prepared in every respect for their future status as a recognized class. The elders even gave them a class name—Pądntųktíkama (pądntųkti, black arara). Three years later the põhĩtíkama completed their cycle of initiation and precipitated a shift of age classes in the plaza; and the minors were then admitted as the junior eastern class, mepantúa, to the northeast station there, acquiring the name Kra'tãkama. As already stated, they began racing against the western mepantúa, a group on the average ten years older. In the following year, when subjected to their first ketúaye, they had their organization completed.

On my return in 1935 I found a new boys' class in process of formation. In 1936 I saw them nicely imitating the adults' erection of a hadre mast at the opening of the vų'tę' period. A group of hunters comprising members of both age-class moieties had prepared a mast 6 m. high outside the village. Having wound foliage round it and tied on the sliced game, they carried it into the village at a trot. Ahead of them a man came dashing and uttering piercing yells; in the center of the plaza he dug a hole for the post. At once the women came rushing up from all directions. The hunters planted the pole in the pit and held it erect, but pretended to let it drop now in one direction, now in the other, which naturally made the women run thither. At last the men laid down the mast, and the women stripped it pell-mell while one of the Clowns at the last moment tried to drag it away. Hardly was this

[108] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 108 f.

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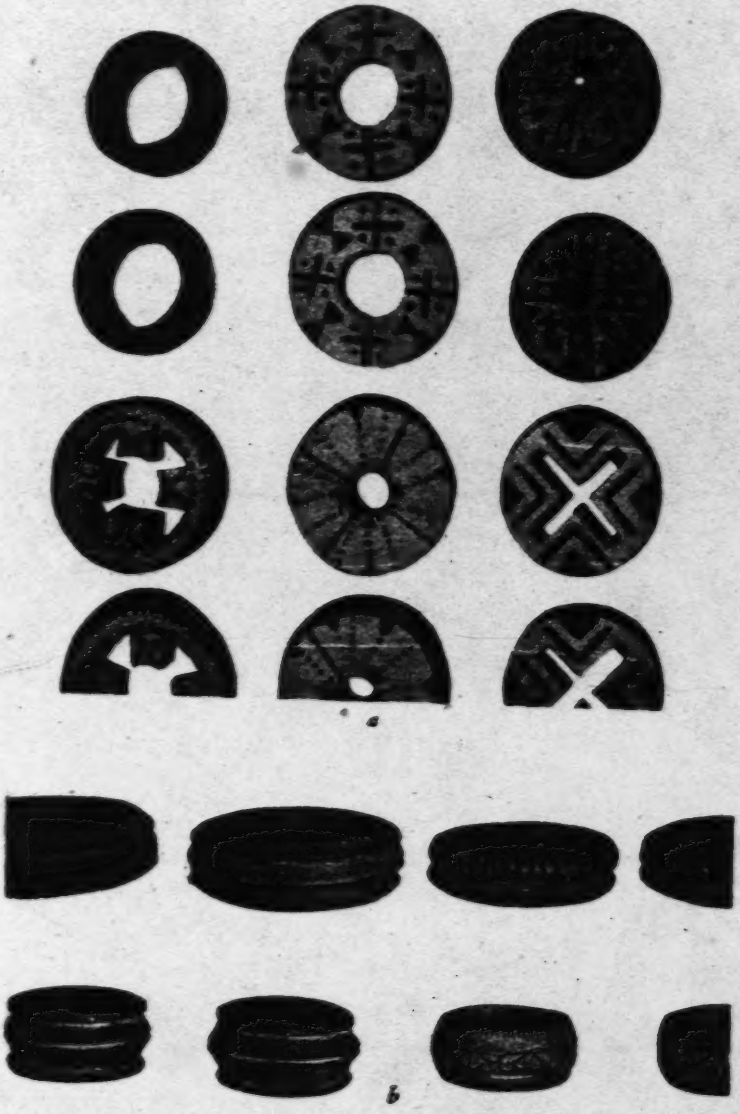

EARPLUGS; WRISTLETS

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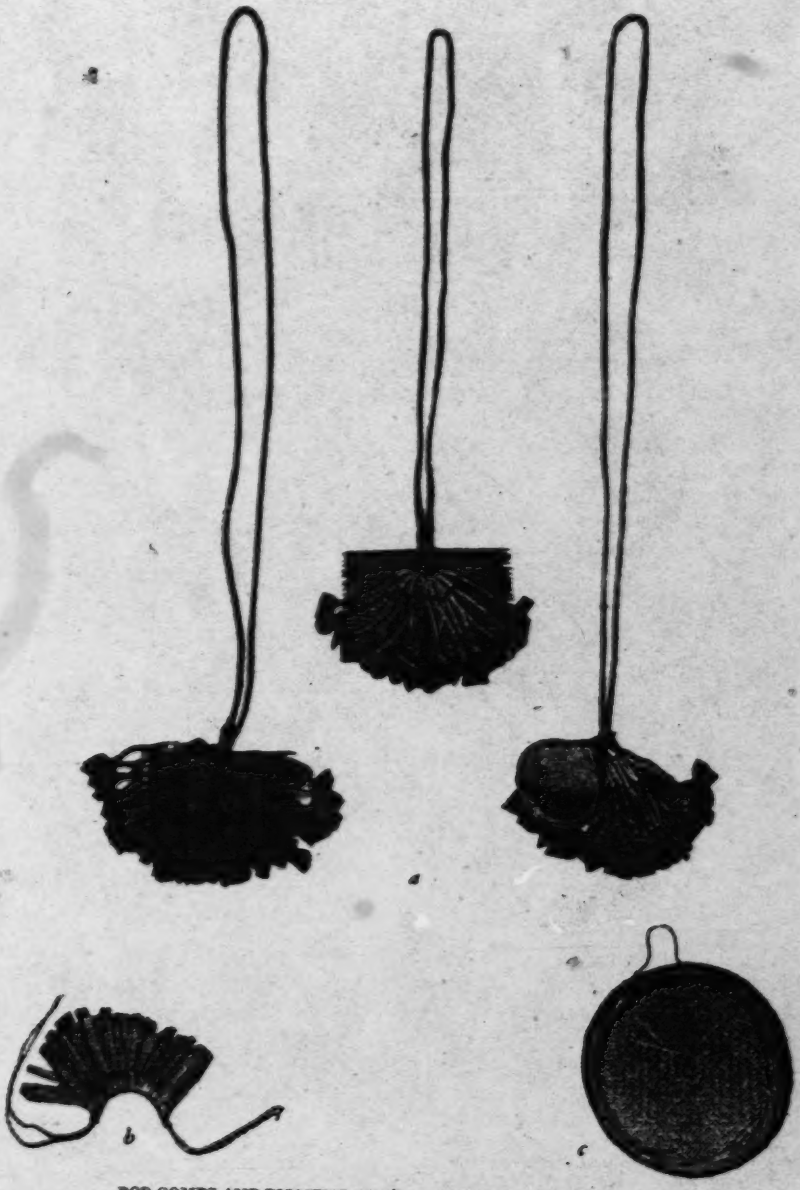

ROD COMBS AND PIGMENT BOWL; HEAD ORNAMENT; STRAINER

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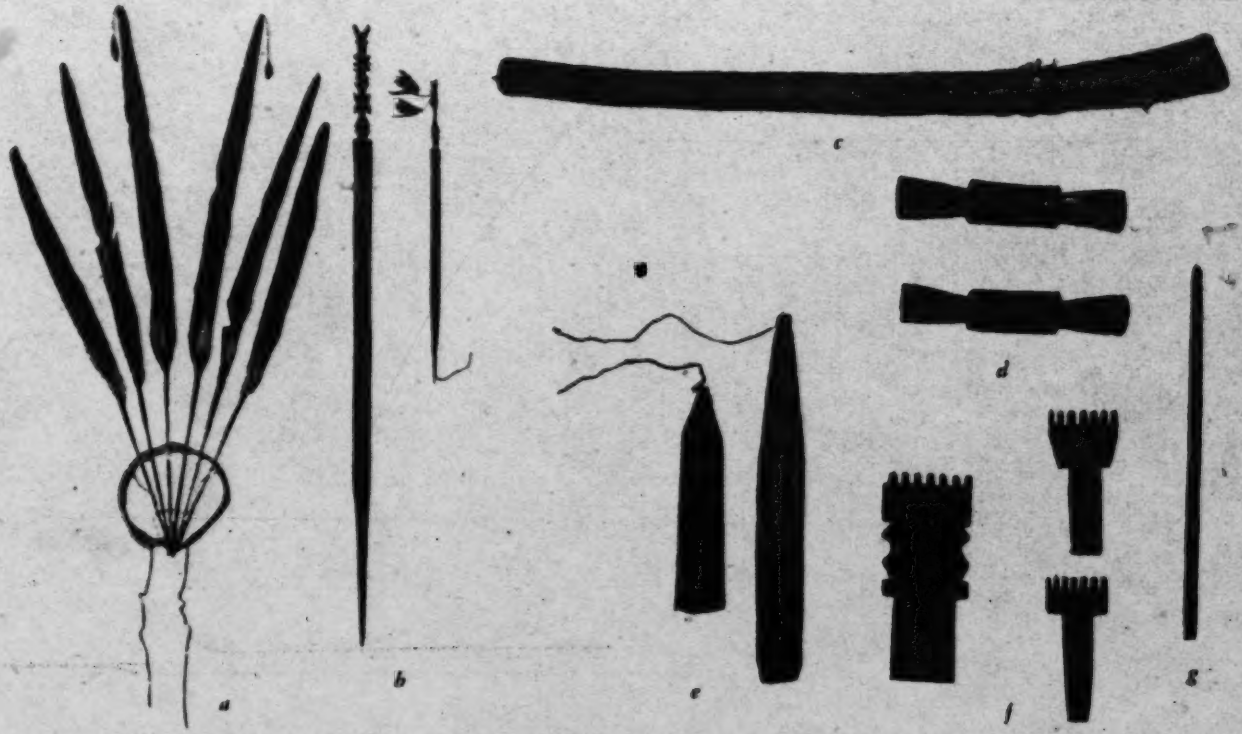


OCCIPITAL ORNAMENT; SCRATCHING STICKS; CEREMONIAL CLUB; MINIATURE PARARE LOGS; BULL-ROARERS; STAMP FOR DOTS; TALLY STICK

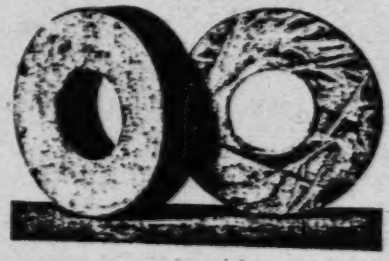
Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOG Timbira SOG

/46 cont./

177 [323] [273] Like these representatives of the Gẽ group, the Canella Indians, in contact with the Whites for over a century, have adopted the art of pottery. Like the former, the production of fermented beverages, which in general they both detest, is unknown to them.

It is not lack of ability which prevents the Canella Indians, and with them all their tribal relatives, from acquiring the cultural achievements of higher nations, but rather their innate indolence, rooted in them for thousands of years, which, however, is perhaps only a conscious defense against all foreign influences.

[301] ←



Pierced ear-disks (kui). 1/2 natural size.

114 175 [113] The scanty data which Martius (1) gives us about the once numerous Canella Indians and their subhordes were taken from the descriptions, generally excellent, but not always quite clear, of Major Francisco de Paula Ribeiro (2), who, starting out from São Luís,

1. Martius, Beiträge zur Ethnographie und Sprachkunde Amerikas, zumal Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography and Linguistics of America, especially of Brazil/, Vol. I, 1867, p. 285.

[113]

2. a. "Roteiro da viagem, que fez o Capitão Francisco de Paula Ribeiro ás fronteiras da Capitania de Maranhão e da de Goyaz no anno de 1815 em serviço de S. M. Fidelissima /Logbook of the

/46 cont./

114 Père Etienne Ignace (4), too, for lack of better and more

[113] 4. Père Etienne Ignace, "Les Capiekrans /The Capiecran/," 1910; in Anthropos, Vol V, pp. 477 ff.

modern sources, was forced to depend on the testimony of this Brazilian traveler for many things in his work "Les Capiekrans" (a Canella subhorde), since from personal observation he knew the Canella very little or not at all.

101 What do we really mean by Canella Indians?

[131] In the wider sense they probably corresponded in their full extent to the dense population of related Indians of the Gẽ people that was designated by Ribeiro as Timbirá, who at the time of the occupation of Maranhão by the Europeans were in uncontested possession of the country and probably a part of the coast.

101 Whereas the hordes living in the north, which it was sought
6/9 in vain to establish in villages in S. João de Penalva in the vicinity
30/ of Viana on the lower course of the Pindaré River, near Codó and
[171] Caxias on the Itapecuru River, wore as a characteristic feature
[304] enormous lip disks carved out of the soft wood of the gamelleira /Moraceae/, for which reason they were then generally called Gamellas, the related nomadic tribes living to the south of them in the center of the state were /47/ distinguished by the no less huge wooden disks fastened as adornment in the slit ear-lobes.

101 Ribeiro calls the latter tribes, together with the inhabitants of the interior, "Canellas finas" (=Indians with thin shinbones), among whom a distinction was again made between Korumekran and Kapiekran.

101 According to the account of Etienne Ignace, the Canella
361 Kapiekrans are supposed to be divided between two centers, Grajaú
[114] and Barra do Corda, and to have four villages. At no time in
[131] Barra do Corda did I hear either the name "Capiekrans" or "Corumekrans" /illustration appears here/ as tribal designations and only ascertained this much, that the "Canella" were settled in a half-civilized state in four actually existing villages between

/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĺ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

A good hour's journey behind Buritĺ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.

/48 cont./

123 upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank -- Surrounded
622 by many curious members of his tribe, he welcomed me with
574 dignified gravity, bade me enter, and ushered me and my servant
352 to the place of honor on his bed, a wooden platform covered with
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The Canella Indian Luiz and his wife Donna.

123 buriti-fiber mats (Port. girao) (2), which stood apart to the right
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2. Pronounce the "g" in "girao" like the French "j."

of the entrance.

342 Some minutes were needed to become accustomed to the twilight in the room, which received daylight only through the door and a few gaps in the palm-straw walls.

356 The relatively great cleanliness which prevailed in the hut made a pleasant impression.

/51/

415 No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell
[824] of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of
[824] a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[171]

[113]

1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

[237] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouth-
[386] piece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is in-
[531] serted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig. 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./

301 824 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé), to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 No. 8. Dye sample (pũ), urucú kneaded together with clay.
302 Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather deco-
[237] ration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief,
[114] which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to

/51 cont./

535 mark the dance rhythm at festivals by being beaten together. (Fig. 2, 11.)

534 No. 10. Small decorated musical instrument (gukon-grúte), a kind of signal whistle made from a gourd (Cuyen/ shell, with a blowhole and two tone holes. (Fig. 2, 8.)

No. 11. A similar instrument, decorated with beads and small feathers. (Fig. 2, 4.)

301 No. 12. Neck ornament (hakró) made of cotton threads 283 (roretsí); in addition to animal claws, a small gourd whistle 237 534 (gukon-krúte).

301 306 482 534 535

Fig. 2.

(gukon-krúte). (Fig. 2, 3.)

301 304 No. 13. Ear ornament (2) (kūi), consisting of black-red

824 2. According to Etienne Ignace, made out of the hard wood of the "Pau santo" /Zygophyllaceae/ or "Acupu."

wooden rings, 2.5 centimeters thick, 8 centimeters in diameter, and 26.5 centimeters in circumference, which are worn in the

/51 cont./
301 pierced and systematically enlarged holes of the ear lobes (3).
304 (Fig. 2, /see p. 15/, 15.)

[171] 3. Compare with this the similarly shaped ear-rolls observed by Karl von den Steinen among the Suyá of the Xingu, made like a tapeline out of the wide leaf-strips of the bacaba palm, with a diameter of 7 centimeters, leaf width 1.5 centimeters. See [113] Durch Zentralbrasilien /Through Central Brazil/, Leipzig, 1886, p. 207.

301 No. 14. Ear ornament, as before, but of somewhat smaller dimensions. With a circumference of 21 centimeters, the thickness of the ring-shaped ear-disks is 2 centimeters, their diameter 6 centimeters. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 1.)

[286] No. 15. Woven upper-arm ornament (ipaçẽ) with woolen tassels. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 6.)

482 No. 16. Carrying baskets with a square base and a forehead-
285 tumpline plaited out of buriti fibers (4). (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 13.)

[171] 4. An exactly analogous basket model is found among the Kayapó of the Araguaia.

126 /52/The following brief word-list was recorded directly from
174 the Canella Indians and permits one, by comparing it with the
197 corresponding words of Ehrenreich's Gradahõ vocabulary (1) and of
[114]

[113] 1. See Ehrenreich, Materialen zur Sprachenkunde /Linguistic Materials/.

the Mẽkubengokrã word-list recorded by me, to recognize a very close linguistic relationship with the Kayapó tribes of the Araguaia, whose separation from the main body of the Gẽ nation on the other side of the Tocantins may well have taken place in not too far distant times.

302

302 TOILET--shaving and depilation; hair styles (e.g., cutting, parting, arranging); care of the hair (e.g., washing, brushing); care of the nails (e.g., cutting, filing); body painting; use of cosmetics, ointments and perfumes; age, sex, and status differences in toilet; associated beliefs and practices; etc. See also:

Electrical appliances 463
Combs, brushes, etc. 412
Barbering tools 413
Elimination 514
Bathing and laving 515
Decorative art 531
War paint 714
Menstrual hygiene 841

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a metal lock. Attached to it in the back is something like a miniature leather cartridge case of almost cubical form which serves to dispose of their smoking outfit and other trifles; and if anyone owns a bush-knife, that too hangs from his belt. All the young men now covet such a belt, regarding the lidded shoulder bag plaited of burity bast (itself a loan from the Neobrazilians) as appropriate only for their elders. The use of this baldric does not antedate 1901, when forty warriors marched as allies of the Brazilian soldiers against the insurgent Guajajára. It is never worn in ceremonies.

Some men, but no women or children, wear sandals of cow leather, finding them very serviceable on their travels through the sun-baked sand, which is painful even for the Indians. This footgear is a quite recent loan from the Neobrazilians—in contrast to the aboriginal bast-cord sandals of the Akwẽ-Šerénte.

At about thirteen or fourteen the girls receive a girdle (mepre) composed of some thirty tucum threads barely a millimeter in thickness which have been very carefully and evenly twisted on the thigh; they are held together in one spot by wrapping (pl. 10, *b*). The wearer steps into the girdle, with the wrapping in front. Ordinarily a mother gives this girdle to a daughter who has completed her term as auxiliary of some men's organization; and the young woman wears it until her first pregnancy, some resuming it subsequently on festive occasions. At present the Rąmkõ'kamekra girls mostly restrict its use to ceremonial times and dancing. On such occasions they wear only this garment, but generally, though not always, one or more urucú leaves are thrust into it to cover the genitalia (pl. 3, *a*). When not in use this girdle usually rests coiled round the neck of a gourd bottle containing the urucú seeds for body painting; this, with other toilet articles, is generally hung from one of the posts of the girl's elevated bed. Among the Põrekamekra, Pohl saw such girdles and interpreted them as a badge of virginity,[289] which does not hold for the Rąmkõ'kamekra, at least today. Formerly, to be sure, the girls of this tribe are said to have been married only after having received the girdle. A single girdle cord with frontal leaf, such as Pohl observed among the Põrekamekra, is rare among our Canella.

When visiting Barra do Corda the men generally wear trousers, more rarely nothing but a kilt. The women who have no complete dress cover themselves with a loincloth and a cover for the upper part of the body. As Snethlage, too, noted, they assume this costume only just before reaching the first houses of the town and immediately take it off on their departure.

As a matter of fact, these Indians consider clothing not merely inconvenient, but positively indecent, as illustrated by an experience in 1930. Encouraged by my presence, some twenty Guajajára of both sexes decided to visit their old enemies in Ponto. Precisely at the time when the councilors and I were assembled in the plaza at sunset the guests arrived, headed by their chief, José Rosa, who asked for me and was directed toward the plaza. Clad in boots, striped trousers, a shirt no longer white, a rather shabby black coat, and a little straw hat, he stepped among us naked, club-carrying savages and seated himself gingerly on a mat I pushed toward him. Then, however, he delivered a good speech: Assuming our permission, he had come to attend our festival (the second phase of initiation) in order that his and our tribe might henceforth live in peace and amity; the old hostilities were futile, etc. The assemblage listened in amiable mood, gave its consent, and sent him to a chief's dwelling, where he and his attendants received lodgement. Then we adjourned, each going home. At the door of her maternal home Kentapí, then

[289] Pohl, Reise, 2:194.

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about fifteen, was waiting for me, and her first words were: "Imagine that Guajajára not feeling ashamed to go to the plaza in *that* style!" In other words, it was the clothed Guajajára who should have been abashed before us naked men, not vice versa.

The Rąmkō'kamekra at first treated their visitors as boon companions. How to behave toward the slender, little and bashful women guests was a question, but the men were at once taken into the festive clubs and cordially invited to take part in all ceremonies, but without their trousers and loincloths. The hosts repeatedly urged their visitors to go naked, but the Guajajára always sheepishly evaded. The Canella took their guests bathing, in the expectation that then at last they would shed their clothes, but the Guajajára remained on dry land, merely watching from the bank. That was going too far, so the Canella secretly began mocking the visitors and gradually it dawned upon them that the strangers did not fit into their festive company and had to be got rid of before the beginning of the grand closing ceremony. Forthwith the councilors decided to cut off their provisions and simultaneously to tell them untruthfully that the ceremony would not start before ten days. Sure enough, José Ross[1] appeared in the plaza three days later, announcing that he was very sorry not to be able to wait, that he had to look after his crops, and would leave the following morning, which he did, liberally supplied by his hosts with victuals for the journey.

All other bands worn around the forehead (pls. 9, *a–g*; 10 *a*), neck, chest, and waist (pl. 11, *a*, *b*), upper arm, wrists (pl. 11, *c*, *d*; cf. pl. 13, *b*), knees and ankles are not in constant use, but associated with ceremonial decoration, though a few young men like to appear with at least part of these paraphernalia on everyday occasions (pl. 3, *c*, *d*). No Canella dreams of putting on his knee bands (reddened with urucú like all decorative articles) with any great regularity from childhood on in order to affect the musculature of his legs. Such procedure would merely result in a still greater protrusion of the calves comparable to its effects among the ancient Island Caribs with their rigid bands; it certainly would not give to the lower leg "the desired slenderness" as Martius was told—presumably only to rationalize the name Canellas finas (p. 29).[2]

Hair.—Except for the Western Gaviões and the tribes which, like the Gurupy groups and the Kre'pų'mkateye, have adopted the Neobrazilian style, all Eastern Timbira of both sexes and all ages dress their hair in identical fashion. Irrespective of mourners and people otherwise in seclusion, there were only two old people in Ponto who failed to cut their hair.

The hair is cut rather high on the forehead, close, and in a horizontal line. At the temples of the upraised head the trimmer continues to cut on both sides in an accurately horizontal line but so as to leave a distance of about 4 cm. between the ends of the lines cut, this space being called krąyimôk. The hair is cut in a width of about one centimeter. Where the two hair furrows meet the forehead on either side, the lower corners are rounded off somewhat by removal of hair. Unless smoothed with oil, the coarse, stiff Indian hair then rises more or less shaggy above the furrows, simulating at a distance a cap. The hair about the temples is cut off at the level of the auditory meatus, so that it forms a sort of ear muff (yiré). The occipital hair (krąkatút) is allowed to grow long, but its length greatly varies with individuals, sometimes descending almost to the waist.

Strangely enough, neither Pohl nor Snethlage has noted the occipital gap in the hair furrow that distinguishes Eastern from Western (=Apinayé) Timbira style.[3]

[1] Spix and Martius, 2:822. [2] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 169.

1[i.e. the chief of the Guajajára --- Analyst.]

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302 Further, it is necessary to correct some errors that have crept into the literature
114 concerning Timbira hairdressing. Notwithstanding assertions by Kissenberth and
765 Snethlage,[29] who oddly agree on this, the Canella never cut their hair in mourning; the exact contrary holds, as demonstrated in plate 7, *b*. Moreover, as proved by dozens of my pictures, women and children dress the hair in exactly the same fashion as the men; Snethlage thus errs in declaring that they merely comb their hair away from the face or cut it above the forehead. Oil paintings by the Dutch artist Eckhout which are in the National Museum of Copenhagen suggest that the Otahukayana of Rio Grande do Norte also wore the hair furrow in the seventeenth century. (See pl. 21.) The occipital hair of the Timbira is never braided into a pigtail;
[301] a little grass fanlike ornament (hivakúi) (pl. 20, *b*) merely serves to ligature the bunch of occipital hair. A person with very long hair may gather it together, lay the tip up on the back of the head, and secure it there with string. However, this custom—like the use of the hivakúi—is peculiar to men about to engage in a particularly difficult undertaking—formerly, above all when going to battle; and as soon as anyone is seen indulging in the practice he is immediately questioned by everybody as to his plans.

302 No man's hair is cut by another. The task devolves primarily on his mother, his
462 sisters, female cousins and nieces; his wife may tend to the matter provided it is
177 not a ceremonial cut at the close of a period of mourning or seclusion. Because of this rule men who have been away for a long time have the furrow completely obliterated by the new growth of hair. On their begging trips, however, they usually fall into the hands of some civilized barber who spoils their coiffure for the period of several months.

302 No attention is paid to the clipped hair, which they either allow to lie about or throw on the garbage, for the Eastern Timbira and the Apinayé do not share the widespread Indian belief that fragments severed from the body can be used in sorcery. On the other hand, the Rąmkõ'kamekra believe that a person who has secured
[832] another's hair from the temples thereby is certain of being loved by him or her, for which reason such hair is sometimes clipped clandestinely. The hair cut from women's occiputs at certain festivals is united in a long bundle and hung on a tree in front of the village, whence I was able to carry it off at will. Several times I received the present of a neck-and-forehead ornament consisting of hair tufts mounted brushlike in feather quills or small bamboo tubes.

[804] The Canella have double combs (koiké) composed of little rods (pl. 20, *a*), but
303 today they serve only ceremonial purposes; a norm based on the length of the rods
177 is used in the manufacturing. For practical purposes these combs have been superseded by those of European and Neobrazilian make, but several men, for example,
321 chief Ropką', are themselves able to produce such modern combs out of horn, and these prove far more durable than the purchased articles, which very soon lose their tines in the thick Indian hair.

302 The people pay a fair amount of attention to their hair. They wash it while bath-
303 ing by rubbing it between the palms of their hands, and oil it with the oleaginous juice of chewed babassu seeds, which is spat into their hands and then rubbed on the hair. The very greasy beetle larvae that live within the seeds are crushed between the palms and then also used for oiling the hair. Head lice (ikó) occur, especially among children, but have long ceased to be general. I am positive that a consider-
562 able number of adults lack them. Anyone becoming aware of lice has his wife or some kinswoman look for them; this person puts them on the palm of her hands.

[29] Kissenberth, Bei den Canella-Indianern, 48. Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 148.

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562 licks them up with the tip of her tongue and eats them. Men never indulge in this quest.

826 Long hair in the back is considered beautiful in both sexes. Negro hair is regarded
302 as repulsive; on the other hand, these Indians esteem the fine-textured, smooth hair of pure whites as at least equal in beauty to their own and take delight in stroking it.

Even tribes, like the Gurupy Timbira, who have long since abandoned the ancient mode of hairdressing, still remove eyebrows and lashes. Long eyebrows "like a dog's" are abhorrent to the Canella; they are torn out with the tips of the fingers, which [824] have first been dipped into ashes. In order to avoid unremitting criticism I felt compelled to shave my eyebrows from time to time. An ordinary two-fiber tucum thread serves to remove the eyelashes. A man will hold his hands at a distance of a few centimeters on the thread, twist it so that the fibers separate, then enclose the tips of the lashes with them, tightly twist the thread together again, and jerk off the lashes. Another device is to use the long seeds of the steppe grass, which are provided with a sharp, though barely visible barb. No man ever removes another's
562 eyebrows or lashes; he either does it himself with the aid of a mirror or has some woman do it for him.

[832] Axillary or pubic hair, which appears late and almost always remains scanty, is generally allowed to grow unhindered. However, young girls and, more particularly, village wantons often pluck out the first pubic hair, this being reckoned elegant. Kukēnkwę'i, one of the wantons never absent from any festivity of the wakōkama age class, had her pubic hair gently, though forcibly, removed by her friends and age mates at the command of the class leader, Ropką' junior, as they triumphantly reported to me afterward.

According to Pohl, the Põrekamekra of old removed all body hair.[388]

The beard is not plucked out except by young unmarried men provided it should appear at that age, which is a very rare occurrence. Otherwise it is allowed to grow; but whiskers, which hardly ever sprout, are considered ugly.

304 *Perforation of ear lobes.*—Perforated ear lobes (hapakkre) and the hair furrow
881 constitute the most important national badges of the Timbira, the Eastern tribe limiting the perforating of ear lobes to boys. Among the Rąmkõ'kamekra I have often witnessed this operation, which is obligatory before the final initiation phase, but not otherwise fixed in time. Usually it falls into the first phase of the second half of the initiation cycle, that is, when the boys are from ten to fifteen years old and still sexually pure. Snethlage's estimate of six to seven years[389] is thus too low.

The operators, of whom Ponto has three, function simply as experts in this procedure, playing no other part by virtue of their practice. Every boy is operated on separately in his maternal home without any previous preparation. He is made to sit on a mat where there is proper illumination, with either parent behind him [413] and resting both of his or her hands on the lad's shoulders. The perforator, provided with a wooden pin (fig. 3), a gourd bowl holding urucú pigment (pl. 20, *a*), and a pair of bamboo rods the thickness of a match, squats before the subject. He cuts off the hair about the boy's temples, kneads the lobe between his finger tips, dips the tip of his pin into the urucú, and thus marks the spot to be punctured, all this being done with deliberate meticulousness. The perforator leans back to make sure that the spot is in the right place. Taking one of the red bamboo plugs between his lips, he once more seizes the pin and slowly twists it, making an orifice the diameter of a lead pencil, whereupon he immediately inserts the plug. I have

[388] Pohl, Reise, 2:192.
[389] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 150.

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presence. The Indian himself and everything he owns are more or less red with urucú. Whatever they take hold of turns red, as does anyone living among them. The urucú stain on an article is not conceived as dirt, but as an embellishment. Any trace of earth on prepared food is removed by scraping and washing, yet no one dreams of attempting this with the imprint of the cook's ten digits. The Indians grow irritated if civilized people voice disparaging comments about the use of urucú; any person or article reeking with the pigment is a thing of beauty. A collection of ethnographica from any Timbira tribe is marked by the varying red, brownish-red, and yellowish-red tints of urucú. Especially when fresh the pigment emits a strong odor which civilized observers identify as "stench," while it delights the Indian's nostrils no less than the red color pleases his eyes. Naturally the odor is attached to the Timbira himself and all his belongings.

In order to have the pigment constantly available the urucú shrub (pq; *Bixa orellana*) is planted beside or behind the dwelling. The red pigment, forming the thin layer of a moist mass, surrounds the seeds in their capsules. The Indians either gather fresh capsules from the shrub according to need or harvest the mature capsules, removing the seeds for storage in gourd bottles, which are plugged with stoppers. More particularly it is the young girls who always keep such bottles suspended by their beds. Men never own them since they are always painted by the other sex. After a while the pigmented mass dries on the seeds; then it is necessary to prepare the coloring matter with the oily juice of babassu seeds. The urucú seeds are poured into the hollow of the hand, the juice of the chewed babassu seeds is expectorated over them, and the mixture is rubbed between the flat palms. The pigment thus produced is removed with the finger or a little rod, either for immediate use or for storage in a little gourd bowl (pl. 14, *m*). These small urucú gourds, suspended from the back by a plaited cord, are the badge of the girl associates (p. 96), whose duty it is to paint the members of their festive organization. The pigment remains visible even after several baths.

Another mode of preparation is derived from the Guajajára: after the washing of the seeds the fluid is condensed by boiling; roundish lumps are molded from the soapy mass; and these are wrapped in leaves or cloth. However, the older generation spurn this innovation because the urucú loses its odor in boiling. Chief Kukrãčą' objected in my presence when his niece wanted to paint him with pigment thus prepared and sent her for fresh capsules.

Urucú is not only beautiful, but also useful, being credited with antiseptic (p. 50) and prophylactic virtues. Going to a pool for my morning bath before daybreak on one occasion, I met my hąpínpey, Čątú, who was about to start on a hunting trip. (See p. 100 f.) He was carrying a gourd bowl with a handful of urucú seeds, which he mixed with water; then he drank the red liquid, declaring it would give him luck in the chase. He insisted on my taking a few drafts; eagerly overruling my objection that I had no intention of going after game, he informed me that that made no difference: urucú was good for *any* purpose, it was impossible to use enough of it. Whenever I obtained urucú for my collection, I was generally admonished to employ it extensively.[28]

As a matter of fact, the effect of the red pigment on the Indian's dark skin is very agreeable, but, on a North European it is too showy. The Ponto women, however, had the contrary impression: unable to understand my wish to rid myself of my coat of urucú from time to time by washing it off with soap, they imagined that I wanted to be quickly and more effectively repainted. A man's kinswomen

[28] Nimuendajú, The Social Structure, 52.

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302 are blamed if he should go about unpainted for a considerable period. "So-and-so's sister," gossips will say, "does not look out a bit for her brother! Just look! He has not a particle of urucú on his body!"

Since the preparation of urucú reddens one's hands in any case, the coarser ornamentation on the body is executed with the fingers and palms, little rods being [413] reserved for the fine red lines of the face paint. Stamps and painting-forks are never used in this connection.

These devices are employed however with the black rubber pigment, which is 386 prepared from the latex of a low steppe tree (*Sapium* sp.). A branch is generally 302 hacked off and barked at home. The juice (arą'mhõk) oozing out of the bast is gathered into a gourd bowl, where it may be immediately mixed with powdered charcoal. Alternatively, the pure latex may be painted on the surface, the powder being rubbed in subsequently. Paint of this type often remains visible for a week, and one rarely sees a Timbira without at least some traces of it. Fróes Abreu[256] has described this pigment, whereas Snethlage ignores it, obviously taking all black paint to be genipa.

Genipa, though used very rarely, is obligatory at certain ceremonies. The apple-like fruits of the genipa tree (porti; *Genipa americana*) are gathered and bisected, then the halves are put into the fire with the plane of bisection on top. As soon as they are heated, one crushes the core with a little rod so that the juice accumulates in the rind, and applies it with a little cotton at the end of a stick. At first the effect remains colorless, but after a few hours the paint turns blackish blue, persisting for over two weeks on unexposed skin. Snethlage mistakenly reports that the stem of the shrub provides the pigment and that there is an admixture of a fine oil.[257]

Only on a single occasion—the terminal solemnity of the final initiation phase—have I been able to observe the use of the yellow pigment derived from the urucú root for bodily decoration. On the other hand, it is applied more than others to the ornamentation of pouches and mats of burity bast.

531 The ceremonial combs and the cotton wristlets of the girl associates, as well as 301 the anterior surfaces of earplugs, are colored with white clay. The latter have black and red designs on the white background. White clay I have seen applied [302] as body paint only at the ceremony after the return of a girls' collecting expedition into the steppe and at the hõčwa celebration (p. 63).

302 The black rubber and the red urucú paint are applied in everyday life, either each by itself for a complete coating or in combination; but complex designs are only executed on special occasions. The ordinary painting is that described by Snethlage: on the front and the back of the body, on the right and the left side, there is a broad vertical stripe in black, with a red one in the middle. The hands and feet are never painted black, but invariably red. The face paint usually comprises vertical red strokes across the forehead, bridge of the nose, mouth, and chin; [886] or across the forehead, eyes, and cheeks; likewise horizontal lines at the corners of the eyes and mouth. The older men do not paint at all after the day of their last [856] log race, nor do old women decorate themselves in this way. Little children are most frequently painted black all over, a procedure supposed to promote their growth.

413 The Canella painting outfit is comparatively multiform (pl. 14). In addition to 302 the above-mentioned little rods and the brushes made of a cotton wad on a stick,
531

[256] Fróes Abreu, Terra das Palmeiras. 183.
[257] Snethlage, Nordostbras. Ind., 149.

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there are wooden forks with from two to five tines for drawing parallel lines. Further, there are four distinct types of stamps: (1) For dots. For dotted lines the forks or similar implements are used; dots forming stars, rectangles, etc., are stamped with the ends of appropriately carved rods. (2) Round stamps, mainly for star-shaped designs, generally consist of halved palm (especially babassu) nuts and are most commonly used. An ingenious woman utilized her husband's ear disks, which had a Maltese cross in openwork. (3) Stamps for stripes. These usually consist of a plano-convex piece of burity leafstalk, the level surface being carved with the designs, while the convex side has two excised parts opposite each other which aid the fingers in manipulating the implement. Other stamps of this category are of hardwood and of rectangular section, with a different pattern on each side. Sometimes a grip projects in the direction of the axis on each narrow face of such four-plane stamps. (4) Roller stamps, of cylindrical form with spindle. They may quite possibly be aboriginal, for the racing logs called pę'rakahą'k exhibit the same form.

Notwithstanding the extensive development of body paint, the ornamentation marks social units only in a few cases. Thus, each of the plaza groups paints those of its members graduating from the second phase of initiation with a special pattern at the terminal celebration; and the rainy season moieties are recognizable by their paint. On the other hand, the exogamous moieties, the age classes, and the festive organizations lack distinctive paint, except for the leader and the girl associates of the Jaguar society.

Gluing of down and paty wool.—Falcon down is glued on the body exclusively for ceremonial decoration (pl. 7, *c*), being obligatory at a number of solemn procedures, whereas no one ever has himself decorated with feathers for his personal pleasure. At the close of the ketúaye and the pepkahą'k seclusion all participants are ornamented with falcon down. At other terminal solemnities and outstanding ceremonies it is as a rule the officiating members of the hąmrén who are thus distinguished. Above all, the tamhą'k at their great ceremony during the pepkahą'k festival all appear with the falcon-down decoration reserved for their use. Further, at the end of the mourning period for a deceased or absent tribesman, or after prolonged and serious illness, the hąmrén present themselves in their down ornamentation before the councilors in the plaza; the corpse of the hąmrén is similarly honored. Whenever the hąmrén are thus decorated, each cheek bears two small black triangles in close juxtaposition, the pigment being derived from almecega rosin and pulverized charcoal.

The ketúaye initiation and the pepkahą'k festival require the simultaneous decoration of some thirty persons with falcon down, hence special hunting trips have to be arranged in order to obtain the necessary quantity. The Indians then set the steppe afire, the smoke enticing the falcons, whose down is subsequently stowed away in small, narrow-mouthed gourd vessels, from which it is extricated with a little rod.

I know of but a single instance of parrot down as a substitute for that of a falcon. Oddly enough, this happened in the case of a little boy impersonating a young falcon.

The down is glued on by a hąpín (p. 102), invariably in the wearer's maternal house, to the chanting of the operator, who receives a present for his labor. The solitary exception occurs at ketúaye, the novices being decorated by members of their plaza unit (menkąčą). Before the operation the subject's hair is always trimmed.

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The upper margin of the decorated surface is marked by an obtuse angle between the shoulders, the apex lying below their level. From this boundary the decorator glues the down on the body so that it extends halfway down the forearm and lower part of the leg, leaving the genitalia free. The downless parts of the body, excepting usually the face, are reddened with urucú.

The tamhą'k do not wear the continuous down covering of others, but have, both in front and in back, two stripes the width of a hand, one on each side of the body. Each stripe extends from the clavicle or shoulder blade down to the middle of the lower leg. A somewhat narrower stripe of down is glued on the front and the back of each arm. At all joints the stripes are interrupted.

For gluing the down the Indians use the almecega rosin of *Hedwigia balsamifera*, which has a very agreeable odor. This is the only pleasant feature in the procedure, which involves the chewing of babassu seeds and spitting the oily juice on the rosin previously smeared over the palms of the hands. Rubbing the palms together produces a somewhat tough, yellow ointment, which is clapped on the subject's skin, and rubbed into it. Then another operator immediately dabs the falcon down on top. So long as the decoration is fresh the wearer looks rather attractive in his snow-white raiment of down. But soon after, especially after bathing, the covering grows very unsightly; however, its vestiges persist for over a week. Hairs, which it is true are almost lacking on the Indian skin, have a disagreeable way of adhering to one another because of the rosin, and wherever a man sits or lies down he gets stuck. I have a veritable horror of this procedure, but as a member of the tamhą'k organization am obliged to submit to it whenever I return to the tribe after a prolonged absence.

By scraping of the young leafstalks of the paty palm (*Orcus* sp.) one obtains a light pinkish-yellow wool that is stored and applied like falcon down. But while the Apinayé uniformly employ this material in place of falcon down, which is not customary among them, the Rąmkõ'kamekra restrict its use to members of the Duck society.

Miscellaneous.—Finger rings (hukrą̃čẽčą) are constantly worn by both sexes. Originally they were black and inconspicuous, being made of the caudal skin of the chameleon (*Iguana tuberculata*) and the teyú (*Tupinambis teguixin*). Today men and women crave silver and brass rings of European make with glass stones. Whenever possible they overload themselves with these ornaments to an unesthetic degree, or suspend them from the necklace, this consisting nowadays mostly of glass beads and some pendant, which occasionally both sexes wear from infancy to old age. However, even today the seeds of a grass (*Scleria* sp.) are fashioned into beads to be strung. In order to be able to perforate them it is necessary to grind them to a point on a whetstone at one spot. This is effected with the aid of a fragment of *Lagenaria* bowl with a little opening just large enough to have the curvature of the *Scleria* seed project somewhat when it is put on top. The worker seizes the slightly bent bowl, presses the seed on top of the hole with the tip of the index finger, and grinds off the projecting curvature.

Infants often also wear wrist and ankle cords with pendent bits of all sorts of wood and roots or little bones and seeds, to which medicinal virtues are ascribed. Wristbands (mepače) of babassu grass are worn by girls and young men; only the men wear bands of the same material on the upper arm and forehead, as well as knee bands of either cotton or babassu grass (pls. 3, *c*, *d*; 11, *c*, *d*).

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mitting it to drop to the ground. If a player at last allows it to fall, it is not picked up, but Rąrą'k throws a new one into the ring until all the shuttlecocks are forfeited.

After midnight the men of both rainy season moieties assemble by two fires in the plaza, whither a man named Kái brings them a bundle of unfeathered arrows with balls of maize husk covering their points (pl. 16, *a*). The players step up in pairs (so as to represent in each case both moieties) and try to hit each other with the arrows, which they throw with their hands.

In 1929, during my first visit, when I had not yet come to understand anything of the ceremonial, I had the following experience. An Indian wishing to show me a special favor had some sweet potatoes brought from the plantation for my delectation before the harvest time had been officially announced. In my innocence I eulogized the generous donor before the elders in the plaza, but at once noted the silent, but significant glances passed among them. The donor was thus placed in an ambiguous position and incurred censure, though in deference to me this was not carried too far. However, the culprit was obliged to hurry to the plaza with a bowlful of baked sweet potatoes for the elders, who consumed them and declared the crop ready for harvesting. Similarly I observed that they received two watermelons when the harvest for these fruits was opened.

Another ceremony, hõčwa (= pointed leaf, i.e., sweet potato), is devoted to the sweet potatoes. It always takes place when these plants produce their vines, immediately preceding the ceremony just described of opening the maize harvest. The performers, numbering some twenty, are organized like the festive organizations, but their activities are confined to this single annual appearance at the hõčwa. As in these other societies, membership is inherited matrilineally with the personal name. The lodge is situated on the north side of the eastern half of the village circle. Like the other societies, this, too, has a leader, the hõčwakédeti (grandfather of the hõčwa). He wears hanging down the nape of his neck from a neck cord a feather from the tail of a red arara. The present incumbent is the chief Hąktokót, but the title hõčwa itself belongs to the bearer of the name Rąrą'k, who in this capacity wears falcon down on his body and has a little whistle of Mataco type.[38] The participants also include a precentor and two girl auxiliaries.

The members paint the entire body with white clay, and their faces are marked with two obtuse-angled parallel lines traced with the finger tips with the same pigment. The apex of one of these angles is on the forehead, while its sides extend over the temples; the point of the other angle is on the tip of the nose and its sides are drawn across the cheeks.

The hõčwa actor proper is decorated at sunset. At nightfall a big fire is kindled in the plaza, where the precentor remains waiting. Finally the hõčwa leaves his maternal home and walks to the plaza, where the precentor begins singing to the accompaniment of a rattle, while the hõčwa, with his pinčwę'ipey behind him, sounds his whistle. Thereupon the hõčwakédeti steps out of his maternal house, dances toward the plaza, but immediately returns in order to bring with him the entire membership, who now dance in the plaza with outstretched arms.

Toward midnight all the women and girls come out of their houses and range themselves in groups at the opening of the radial paths leading from their maternal homes to the plaza. The hõčwa march round the plaza from group to group, singing before each of them.

The object of this ceremony is to ensure for each extended family an adequate supply of sweet potatoes, corresponding to the number of its female members.

[38] Izikowitz, Musical Instruments, 232.

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553 names to a sister's son, a woman to her brother's daughter. However, the sets of the
616 kąʹmakra and the atųʹkmakra differ from those of the plaza groups, as well as from
611 those hereditary within an exogamous moiety. Actually, only five out of twenty-eight cases genealogically examined literally conformed to the ideal pattern. In practice, one generation, or even two, may be skipped in favor of a younger kinsman; and occasionally there is a transfer within the same generation if the individuals affected are separated by a considerable disparity of age. The deviations from the ideal scheme are connected with a principle of reciprocity already explained (p. 78).

In the process of name transference a person may change his rainy season moiety affiliation. A paternal aunt had transferred to her brother's daughter the kąʹ name Kentapí, but died before being able to convey her other names to the girl. As a result another patrilineal kinswoman took the deceased aunt's place; but she was atųʹk, hence the first name, Nyõkí, which she conveyed to the girl automatically made the niece an atųʹkkwęiye.

616 The moieties now under discussion differ in decorative paint. The kąʹmakra are
302 distinguished by a red angle whose apex lies at the upper end of the breastbone while the sides terminate on the shoulders; furthermore, by horizontal black lines on the body and limbs. The atųʹkmakra lack the angle, and substitute vertical black lines.

616 The kąʹ battle cry is "wa-wa-wa!" that of the atųʹkmakra "kę-kę-kę!" The birth
851 of a new kąʹ or atųʹk boy is thus heralded by the maternal uncle or grandmother's brother who is to pass on his names to the infant: this man steps outside the door and calls loudly the characteristic rainy season cry.

616 Each group is headed by a commandant appointed by the council, and his mother's house becomes the place of assembly for the membership. The kąʹ headman bears the title of ikąʹrkate (kąʹra = ready), that is, he who is ready; the atųʹk counterpart is called kačúnkate, a term that has remained untranslatable.

616 The practical significance of this dichotomy is restricted to the log races and
527 hunting trips of the meipimrąʹk period. In the races the male members of the opposing halves—in one instance, the women too—constitute the teams. A race takes place the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period (see p. 168). Not until after this race are the men of the two groups properly divided in the plaza, where all sit down in a circle, whose eastern half is occupied by the kąʹmakra, while the atųʹkmakra are on the western side. For the songs the best kąʹ log racer beats time with his coiled-up rattle girdle.

Then follow the log races, but in a very different manner from the first one just described. At first the kąʹmakra as challengers make the logs, the first pair not exceeding about 12 cm. in diameter and a somewhat lesser length. With each successive race the size rapidly increases until after about a fortnight the normal dimensions are attained, that is, about 50 cm. in diameter and 1 m. in length. The first pair of the kąʹmakra has red longitudinal lines on the surface and on each terminal plane there is a concentric red patch, whereas the atųʹk equivalent has a wide diametric black stripe.

As soon as the kąʹ logs have attained normal size the challenging henceforth devolves on the atųʹkmakra until the close of the rainy season. The first atųʹk pair is, if possible, even of lesser diameter than the first kąʹ logs, but the length is greater, being close to 1 m. from the start. The decorative painting of the initial atųʹk pair is as described above.

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips
616 during which the hunters abstain from sex relations, but subsequently the groups
224 exchange their women. If the hunt falls in the period of kạ'makra log making,
834 the members of this group give their opponents only a small piece of every beast
837 killed, but supplement the present with powder, a few arrows, a bow, and the knife used for cutting up the game. The atụ'kmakra act correspondingly during the period of *their* races. During the atụ'k period the hunters return in a race with considerably hollowed-out logs.

616 After the last atụ'k race, which closes the meipimrạ'k season, the women of each
529 group prepare meat pies with green maize, which is already available then, and distribute them among the membership.

After the beginning of the maize harvest, at the very close of the meipimrạ'k
616 period, the mepatạmčwẹ'pupú (viewing of sisters' sons) ceremony takes place.
527 The atụ'k of both sexes bring new fruits from the plots and assemble outside the
604 village, where part of the crop is cooked. Every man who has a sister's son is standing beside him and thus they march to the plaza, where the red-painted kạ'makra men with *their* sisters' sons are expecting them, standing in a row. The atụ'k deposit their prepared fruits before their opponents; finally one of them appears with an armful of maize cobs, which he throws contemptuously at the feet of the kạ'makra men. While this is going on, each group lauds the great number and good appearance of their nephews while ridiculing their opponents'. This ceremony usually closes the meipimrạ'k season.

616 Although the inauguration of the maize harvest and the appearance of the hõčwá
575 society fall within this period, they are not associated with the rainy season moieties.

616 On the other hand, this bisection of the tribe seems to play a part in the second
881 initiation phase, that is, during the vụ'tẹ' season. Five weeks after the beginning of their seclusion the novices parade round the boulevard until they reach the seclusion yard of the eastern class leader. During this procession they were shielded from view by large mat shields. The novices of atụ'k affiliation left the seclusion yard at nightfall in order to return each to his own hut of seclusion "for night belongs to the atụ'k." On the other hand, those belonging to the kạ'makra did not leave before daybreak "because daytime belongs to the kạ'makra." On the day that
[302] terminates their seclusion the youths appeared painted from head to foot with the *yellow* urucú pigment (p. 53). On this background they were painted, according to their affiliation, with vertical or horizontal lines in red urucú.

616 Further, I noted that in the races intervening between the lifting of their own
561 and of their first commandant's seclusion the novices bore the black lines characteristic of the kạ' and atụ'k, respectively. Subsequently, however, only the age-class grouping made itself perceptible.

616 The dual division discussed in this section suggests even more strongly than
174 that of the plaza groups a secondary allotment of functions originally vested in
171 the exogamous moieties. It seems highly probable that anciently the kạ'makra were identical with the eastern, the atụ'kmakra with the western moiety, the former enjoying ceremonial ascendancy during the dry season, the latter during the rainy season. Only as the age classes with the vụ'tẹ' system (p. 92) gained in importance, the kạ'makra were pushed from the ceremonial of the dry season into the opening weeks of the rainy period. The dichotomy of nature associated at Ponto with the rainy season moieties is a feature of the exogamous moiety system of other tribes. This holds for the Kaingang I saw in the toldos of the Ivahy region (state of Paraná) in 1912–13: Kamé, the ancestor of one of their moieties, was described

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thereupon the several plaza groups carried off their respective fees to the plaza, where the contents were poured out, assorted, and distributed among the members. On the same morning the pepyé had their hair cut and received the paint peculiar to their plaza groups. The novices took up positions in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups, standing on the west side of the village circumference, to the right and left of the former house of seclusion of the eastern class leader. Those not in seclusion appeared on the plaza in the proper order of the groups, ran up to the pepyé affiliated with them, and led them off to the appropriate meeting house. There they were painted by their hąpín with their respective plaza group designs in genipa and red urucú.

This decorative paint, hõkrįkróro, consists of a stripe the width of the hand and composed of certain repetitive ornaments on both sides of the front of the body. The stripes begin on the cheeks at the level of the nose and descend across the neck, breasts, and inguinal region down to approximately the middle of the thigh. At the clavicle a narrower stripe of the same decoration branches off, extend-

Fig. 8. Decorative painted designs of plaza groups (left to right): Giant Snake, Bat, Carrion Vulture, Armadillo, Dwarf Parrot, Alien Tribe. All solid figures within the frames are red.

ing on the anterior surface of the arms down to the middle of the forearm. Each plaza group has its peculiar pattern, but the Giant Snakes display considerable individual variability (fig. 8).

Associated with this ornamentation is a burity leafstalk pole (pure) 4–5 m. in length and colored red with urucú; holding this emblem the novices marched to the plaza and sang there.

This plaza grouping is retained on the following days when the pepyé collect their food at their maternal homes every evening after sunset. Each group in a body successively visited the homes of all members; the sum total of the yield, however, was combined without regard to group distinctions at the novices' site in the plaza and equitably distributed among all.

Eight days later, at the closing pepyé ceremony, the pure were replaced by poles of pindahyba wood with pyrographed designs (kukąkaĩkę'ra = ornamented pindahyba), these emblems being manufactured in the meeting houses of the plaza groups. The novices, holding these poles, marched in two parallel lines around the boulevard, the eastern plaza groups on the left, the western on the right. The procession was headed by the precentor and precentresses, the commandant and the chief acting as masters of ceremonies for the entire festival; beside each pepyé walked his prospective mother-in-law, leading him by a cord round his neck (pl. 40, *a*).

Next the two companies took up positions in the plaza, each on its own side. The pindahyba poles of the eastern groups were united in a bundle and set up on the west side, and vice versa. Then the chief conducting the proceedings uttered a yell, whereupon two down-covered pepyé came rushing out of the meeting houses of the Dwarf Parrots (western) and of the Bats (eastern), each trying to precede the other in knocking down their opponents' sheaf of poles. This closed the pepyé celebration proper.

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they handle. This view finds expression in the rituals of economic life in its several phases. A tamhą'k is the first to taste of certain fruits in order to augment the crop; he lights the grass in a communal drive to ensure a plentiful kill; he makes the first incision in the hide of a slain tapir so that it may prove fat; and when fish are drugged, he precedes others in stepping into the water to spit the first victims, thus promoting an abundant catch thereafter.

Many tamhą'k consider their obligations a nuisance and formally resign by joining in the destruction of a wasp nest in the pepkahą'k (p. 214). This seems to be the only method of resignation.

It is only during the pepkahą'k that the King Vultures figure as an organized unit, and then only during the last fortnight of that festival, when they appear as allies of the Clowns, Falcons, and pepkahą'k, participating in sundry dances and log races, which culminate in the great ceremonial feeding of the tribal groups by the tamhą'k. On this occasion all the King Vultures wear the identical decoration, viz: On their backs, chests, arms and thighs their matrilineal kinswomen glue vertical stripes of falcon down to the width of three fingers; this distinguishes them from other hąmrén, who are completely covered with down at ceremonials. The bare parts of the body and limbs are daubed red with urucú. The occipital hair is tied together, and has fastened to it a rattling ornamental bundle of some thirty carefully smoothed bamboo rods, about 30 cm. long and of the thickness of lead-pencils. The tuft of the wearer's hair is pulled through a plaited ring at the top of the ornament; two long arara feathers—rarely worn at present because the species is almost extinct in this region—are thrust through the ring so as to project obliquely upward and outward.

Formalized Friendship Bonds

1. *The hąpín-pinčwę'i bond*

This social bond most frequently springs from name transference. A man who conveys his name to a sister's son or equivalent and a woman who bestows hers on a patrilineal kinswoman thereby make the boy the hąpín and the girl the pinčwę'i of all those who by similar transfer had become the uncle's and the aunt's "friends." For every personal name involves this bond with the bearers of from six to ten other names, masculine and feminine, including individuals of alien Timbira tribes. Thus, Tunkõ"s hapín are the bearers of the masculine names Kaukré; Kẽẽa; Prĩčet; Ke'ké; Pepkrõ'; Pąnatẽ'k; Kukaprõ'. His pinčwę'i are the women named Krãkupẽ'; Nyõnã'n; Ikurẽ'.

Among these there is always a special friend (hąpínpey and pinčwę'ípey; pey = good, proper, real), viz., the bearer of a particular name who assumes the obligations connected with this bond in the fullest sense, while the other hąpín take them much more lightly.

Much more rarely the tie is established either automatically through joint exercise of certain ceremonial offices or by voluntary arrangement. The latter takes two forms. First, a person may tie an ornament of no particular type round a pregnant woman's neck and thereby become the hąpín of the infant as soon as it is born. This bond holds regardless of the child's sex and is considered to impose obligations as strong as those which hinge on the bearing of certain names. Secondly, youths and their girl associates may choose one or more "friends" during the pepyé phase of initiation. The day after their seclusion is lifted the novices, limiting themselves to their own age class, make their choice while camped in the woods by a creek near the village. If two initiates not yet so coupled by virtue of

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123 Čątú heard about it he gashed himself in the corresponding spot with a knife. Such
608 a display of friendship is usually rewarded with a present.

For a pinčwę'i such performances are carried to a grotesque degree: Once a little
608 girl had been stung by a scorpion, whereupon her two pinčwę'i executed a mad
522 scene before the assembled throng outdoors. While the child was howling with pain inside, the women acted as though they had caught the scorpion (which had long since got away) and were allowing it to sting them. Then they pretended crushing it between their fingers and devouring it. In addition they indulged in all sorts of antics, evoking general mirth.

152 Similar nonsense is also practiced whenever a "friend" is ceremoniously distinguished, that is, especially at the beginning or the termination of seclusion in the initiation and the pepkahą'k festivals. Then the friends carry on most extravagantly around their hąpín by way of displaying their mad exultation over the distinction conferred on him. On one occasion a man straddled his sword club as though it were a hobbyhorse and wildly galloped about, wielding his signal trumpet as a crop; another howled and scratched up the earth like a dog; still another pulled back his prepuce and simulated copulation. Most commonly they dance about with protruding tongues, grotesquely swinging their limbs and their heads.

608 Mutual ceremonial obligations are extremely numerous and intricate. A friend
302 invests a person with ornaments, glues falcon down on his body, and paints him. When the first commandant of the pepyé is freed from seclusion, his pinčwę'i decorates him. If possible it is a hąpín that paints a pepyé with the designs of his plaza group; and at pepkahą'k the pinčwę'i glue falcon down on the King Vultures, and the similar decoration of the pepkahą'k themselves devolves on corresponding
[768] girl friends. Anyone who has been excluded from social intercourse by long absence or seclusion due to illness, mourning, and the like, cannot resume normal participation in the communal life unless he is first painted by a pinčwę'i or hąpín and has thus presented himself before the council in the plaza. Whenever, for example, I return to the tribe, my pinčwę'ipey, Kañõ', paints me and, because of my status as a King Vulture, hence, hąmrén, she also decorates me with falcon down. At a major ceremony of the great festivals the friends of either sex are compensated for their services with meat pies offered by the decorated performers' kinswomen; otherwise a minor gift constitutes their fee.

[764] When set on the bier, a man's corpse is painted by his pinčwę'i, a woman's by her hąpín, falcon down being substituted in case of a hąmrén. The remuneration is not taken from the dead person's property.

608 In most cases the decoration worn at a ceremony is surrendered at its close to
292 the wearer's hąpín and pinčwę'i. At the end of a pepyé seclusion the comb with which a novice's sister had stroked his hair was immediately turned over to his pinčwę'i, who suspended it from her neck. After the solemn parading of the first pepyé commandant subsequent to the lifting of his seclusion, his pinčwę'ipey immediately removed all his decorative outfit, viz., his forehead and girdle bands, bandoleers, and cotton belt; and nothing could induce her to sell me these regalia. The two girls graduating with the pepyé were divested by their pinčwę'i at the girls' final appearance in the plaza, while their hąpín appropriated the presents laid down for that purpose before them by the girls' kinswomen. At the close of their festival the pepyé, decorated with cloths, beads, and green tucum cords, left for a log race against the next oldest age class; at the exit from the village their pinčwę'i surrounded them and took off all their ornaments. Similarly, the women and girls who twice divest the pepkahą'k of their yellow cords are the wearers' "friends."

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608 At pepkahą'k a man specially appointed and his assistant cut off the long occipital hair of the Falcons' pinčwę'i and of the King Vultures' "friends" of either 362 sex. The clipped hair is united in a tuft and suspended from a tree outside the village.

Further, on certain occasions it devolves on the hąpín and pinčwę'i to clean the 608 streets used for ceremonies in which their friends take part. Thus, at the pepkahą'k 364 festival the friends of the pepkahą'k cleaned the radial paths from the performers' maternal homes to the plaza; and the King Vultures' friends cleaned the radii on which this order appeared for their main ceremony. The kinswomen of the persons on whose behalf this service is rendered always pay the workers with food. It should be noted, however, that at other festivities street cleaning devolves on definite societies.

608 In certain ceremonies a man carries his hąpín astride his shoulders. Thus, at a terminal vų'tę' solemnity the Little Falcon, a boy of about four, straddled his hąpín's neck, for the maternal uncle who had bequeathed the office to him and was the child's proper introducer was no longer living. At the pąrąre race of the terminal ceremony in both phases of initiation the two new class leaders ride on the shoulders of their hąpín.

608 In other cases "friends" serve as quasi-protectors of ceremonial performers. 575 Thus, when the down-covered Little Falcon parades round the boulevard at the close of the Mummers' festival, his friends protect him against the Agoutis swarming around in order to tear the glued down from his body. At the inspection of new class leaders toward the end of pepyé their hąpín, with transversely extended sword clubs, seemed to bar the older age class from access to the hut of seclusion, but finally they left the way clear. For this act the two leaders' kinswomen brought bowls of food, which were put in front of the defenders' houses. At the close of their festival the pepkahą'k assembled with the King Vultures in a house, where the pinčwę'i of the former glued falcon down on them; when the Falcons approached, the friends of the pepkahą'k denied them ingress, holding poles in transverse position, and were rewarded with meat pies.

794 On the eve of the King Vulture ceremony the members' pinčwę'i have a special 608 duty while the pepkahą'k and the King Vultures chant in the plaza. Spreading over their own backs the mats the pepkahą'k have made for the King Vultures, the girls formed a close circle round the dancers in order to shield them from the nocturnal cold. For this service they had received an advance payment of small meat pies from the King Vulture's kinswomen and in addition retained the mats.

608 From personal experience I know only a single phenomenon somewhat parallel 171 to this hąpín bond of the Timbira, viz., the maĩtúma institution among the Šipaya, a tribe on the Rio Iriry, a large affluent of the lower Xingú. These people speak a language similar to Tupí and are in every respect close to the Yurúna. Their maĩtúma seems to have been connected with the cult of their national and war spirit, Kumãpári. In any case during zetabja, a purely religious festival dedicated to this spirit, those wishing to become maĩtúma were obliged to step before his wooden statue (upáši) and to utter their wish. On behalf of the spirit the medicineman would reply and blow tobacco smoke at the suppliants, who then jointly drank fermented manioc. The maĩtúma bond obliged partners not to quarrel with each other, to manifest mutual respect and helpfulness, and to abstain from indecent speech in each other's presence. In Portuguese both the Šipaya and the Timbira render the terms maĩtúma and hąpín, respectively, by *"compadre."*[108]

[108] Nimuendajú, Bruchstücke, 1028.

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526 322 824 The ordinary logs are called krowa, burity palm (*Mauritia flexuosa*), being formed from a cylindrical section of one of these trees. About 1 m. long and 40-50 cm. in thickness, these logs may be estimated to weigh 100 kg., but are actually somewhat lighter. To afford a better grip the makers set off a shallow hollow from the margins of the terminal planes. (See pl. 29, *b*.) Among the Krĩkatí I saw gigantic logs, but they had been bilaterally hollowed out, leaving a transverse partition 5 cm. in thickness. Invariably a man of mature years tests the completed logs at the site of manufacture, ordering those he judges too heavy to be lopped off and over-light ones to be deposited in the water.

Logs made out of the heartwood of other trees are called pąra. The pę'rakahą'k made at the beginning of the pepyé initiation—with grips projecting from the terminal planes in the direction of the longitudinal axis—represent a special variety. I observed similar specimens among the Kre'pų'mkateye. Distinct from these are the pąrakačą're used on the first and second days of the closing ceremony of the ketúaye festival. Their weight is negligible; on the other hand, the hąmkrán typical of the opening of the vų'tę' season are the heaviest I have ever seen.

526 292 For the more solemn log races the Rąmkõ'kamekra adorn themselves with girdle pendants far less impressive than those of the Apinayé; they likewise put on forehead bands, neck bands, sashes, and burity-fiber girdles. The pendants and the girdles have long posterior tail-like appendages. At a major race at the close of the ketúaye the participants had tied together their long occipital hair with a grass fan of the type referred to on page 48 (see pl. 20, *b*).

526 ● 302 534 [271] The Rąmkõ'kamekra paint themselves black for a log race. During it they use as instruments only trumpets and their little calabash ocarinas. Like the Apinayé they wrap their wrists with plaited cotton cords terminating in tassels (pl. 11, *c*, *d*); this is to afford protection from chafing against the edge of the log. It is the young girls' duty at major races to provide themselves with gourd bottles filled with water and, keeping pace with the runners, to slake their thirst.

526 The teams alternate in issuing a challenge. Either at an evening or a morning session a councilor once and for all delegated for this duty loudly calls the team whose turn has come, "aikõ'! aikõ'! ape kų'ikateye (or whatever may be the team in question) kanąm meká iykre kačúa to ike'ké!" Those summoned reply in chorus, "hã'o!"

At a suitable distance from the village, in a *galeria* forest with burity palms, the challengers prepare the two logs and, when done, drag them to one of the race tracks if feasible, but as a rule only as far as one of the bypaths that ultimately lead to the track. A space about 6 m. square is cleared, and there the logs are laid down at a distance of about 1½ m. from each other, resting on leaves so as not to be soiled. They are always put down with the axis in the direction of the course. The above-mentioned hąmkrán are painted red by two erstwhile girl associates of the pepyé. (See pl. 29, *a*.)

526 554 The ceremony of the čų'kate with the hąmkrán logs resting on the ground has been described. The office of these four čų'kate is attached to the names Vakái, Pąrkré, Pądnhí and Mĩkrõ', with which it is passed on by inheritance. Their badge consists of a girdle plaited of cotton; it is of the width of two fingers. Hanging from it is a pendant (čų) of rattling objects, properly tapir hoofs; but since nowadays the tapir is extinct within the tribal domain, the tips of little bottle gourds, deer hoofs, and ostrich beaks serve as substitutes. From this girdle the čų'kate derive their name, and formerly all four of them wore these emblems in their official capacity; but at present only one of them owns one.

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IV. CEREMONIALISM

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Among the Canella ceremonialism is of the utmost importance, absorbing a large part of the people's time and energy. At the same time it is so predominantly secular that to consider it as a part of religion would be doing violence to the facts. Ceremonialism is largely restricted to the vụ'tẹ́ period, named after the girls associated with the age-class moieties (see p. 92) and practically coextensive with the dry season. The complementary part of the year is called meipimrą'k.

Every year the Canella celebrate some major festival—either the first (ketúaye) or the second (pepyé) phase of initiation or any one of three intercalary festivals, viz., kõkrít (Mummers); tepyarkwá (Fish Song); or pepkahą'k (Warrior-imitating). The opening of both seasons and the close of the ceremonial season are themselves signalized by solemnities whose description may suitably precede the account of the festivals themselves.

Opening and Close of Ceremonial Season

The vụ'tẹ́ season begins with the maize harvest, extending until the Pleiades (krot) become invisible after sunset on the western horizon. This event ushers in the meipimrą'k, which lasts until the maize harvest.

Opening in 1931.—On April 14 the age classes assembled, each in the maternal home of their vụ'tẹ́, whence both groups simultaneously marched, yelling and often stopping, to the plaza, where they sat down in two parallel lines. The best log racer, carrying in his hand a rolled-up cotton girdle with rattling *Lagenaria* tips (ẽų), sat down before the double line, and slowly began to beat time on the ground with it. All accompanied him, singing two songs in an undertone. This is the customary prelude to a race with two huge burity logs of exceptional weight, such as was scheduled for the morrow. The logs, fashioned in a camp five kilometers north of the village, were thrown down in the plaza, whereupon meat pies were distributed and consumed. In the afternoon a second race was run with smaller logs, which were carried to the plaza from the Ponto creek ford, a distance of only one kilometer.

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On the evening of April 16 the youngest of the western age classes, the põhẹ'kama, headed by their class leader Yóro and accompanied by a number of boys of the as yet unofficial class, came singing to the maternal home of the eastern vụ'tẹ́, whose mother, Yątkré, received them seated at her door. The youths and boys sat down in a row, while Yóro advanced toward Yątkré, pressed his hands against his knees—the posture proper in addressing a sitting person of consequence—and in soft, modest tones begged permission to recommence the vụ'tẹ́ festival of her daughter, Iromkré, which request was curtly granted.

[576]

A little later the youngest eastern age class, the wakõ'kama, obtained the corresponding sanction from the mother of Repíya, the western vụ'tẹ́.

On April 17, before dawn, the boys had gone hunting pereás. They deposited their kill at the plaza site of the põhẹ'kama. Then all sang in the plaza and marched to the residences of their respective vụ'tẹ́.

At 5 P.M. the two girls took up positions in the plaza, Iromkré being led by her predecessor in office (vụ'tẹ́'tum), Pụtkwẹ'i. She was painted only with a narrow red stripe running horizontally across the upper chest and back, though somewhat lower toward the breastbone. She wore a forehead cloth and a hip cloth in addition to her usual skirt. Simultaneously Repíya arrived from the other side—alone, because her predecessor was dead. Her body was quite nude, bearing a similar red stripe; moreover, her lower jaw was painted red, and a knife was stuck into a cloth

[302]

1: Nimuendaju E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

The commandant, who had developed appreciable adipose tissue in seclusion, was perspiring pitiably; from time to time his niece handed him the water bottle, wiped off his perspiration, and massaged his legs whenever he seemed worn out. He was obviously entirely exhausted when at 3 A.M. (July 19) he finally completed the circuit at his retreat, where his pinčwę'i divested him of his ornaments, now her property, with which she refused to part despite all my inducements. The commandant entered the house to sleep—no longer in his cell, which was soon after removed, but on a platform bed in his sister Yatkré's sitting room.

Races; painting of pepyé.—On the same morning the men assembled in the plaza before sunrise, ranging themselves by plaza groups. On the previous day the eastern leader of the pepyé had handed the two miniature race logs (pąrare) to the commandant of the põhį'kama class, which, like the pepyé, is of the western age-class moiety, hence of the same racing team. Though the commandant had secretly buried the logs in the plaza, a member of the kupẽ' plaza group mysteriously unearthed them, notwithstanding the wakõ'kama commandant's wife's sitting on the spot. At once hiding the pąrare in his armpit, he departed; and accompanied by all, including the pepyé, he went to a site one and a half kilometers away, beyond the Santo Estevão Creek. The pepyé, who had at first crowded round the bearer, now dispersed into relay groups along the route, so that only their two leaders, wearing their occipital fan of tail feathers (pąnyapį'; see pl. 35, *a*), accompanied the other classes to the starting point for the race. There each of the two took one pąrare, knelt down with it, and sang.

The race toward the village then started, the western classes—põhį'kama and pepyé—running on the right side of the track against the eastern classes—wakõ'kama and pąntųktíkama (uninitiated boys)—on the left. The latter won—thanks to Čąré, who once more proved the tribal champion. As always in pąrare races, the pepyé girls and their predecessors were stationed across the course and welcomed the runners with the customary flogging and pouring of water over their heads (pl. 30, *b*). Finally entered the pepyé leaders, carried astride the shoulders of two men and set down before the girls without flagellation or ablution.

At once the six plaza groups carried off the baskets of fruits allotted to each, bringing them from their former retreats to the plaza, where each group poured out the contents on their own stance, sorted, and distributed them. It is no easy task to distribute anything among nearly a dozen persons if the numerals in one's tongue do not extend beyond four. This accounts for the distributor, Koipõ'ro, scratching his head in despair and also for the number of raised forefingers on this occasion.

After the initiates' first haircut in three months, they were painted blue-black with genipa and red with urucú. The design differs according to one's plaza group. It consists of a band a hand's breadth in width with figures repeated on both sides of the body front, from the cheeks down to the middle of the thighs, with narrow ramifications over the front side of the arms.

The pepyé ranged themselves on the west side of the village, to the right and left of their eastern leader's retreat, in six companies corresponding to the plaza groups; they were holding burity sticks (pure) 4–5 m. long. The men, grouped on the same principle in the plaza, ran toward the pepyé, carried off those of their own affiliation, and took them to the appropriate group assembly house, where they were painted. The commandant again formed an exception, being painted not in his own group's (čẽpre) lodge, but in his sister's house, his place of internment.

While being thus decorated, a pepyé lies motionless on his back, resting on a mat,

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SO8 Timbira SO8

with any sort of support for his head and the hollows of his knees. For lines to be drawn, the genipa is laid on with cotton wads attached to the tips of little rods, whereas dots are put on with comblike wooden stamps (mehõ´kčą) (pl. 35, *f*). Any older member of the plaza group, preferably the pepyé's hąpín, will undertake the job, at which one or two young women or girls always assist; for though the plaza groups have no regular women members, some of the members' young kinswomen are always in attendance.

The genipa decoration yields rather pretty effects, but being executed with great care it begins to pall, so that a fair number of pepyé fell asleep on their mats as I did myself, and had to be awakened when the work of art was done. Then the subject would make his body rigid, allowing a classmate to raise his head and to help him up lest the movements of his limbs blur the moist drawing. After the genipa juice had grown tolerably dry, the decoration was completed with red urucú.

In the meantime Pąnhí, who had given the signal for the novices' retreat into their cells on July 14, sang a song before each house in turn:

Yayumri rõ´rohõ kam nõ
? babassu leaf on it lies

When all plaza groups had completed the decoration of their pepyé, they simultaneously marched out of their meeting places holding urucú-stained "pure" poles, proceeded toward the plaza, where they formed a circle, with the two pepyé girls and a precentor facing each other in the center. The commandant was brought from his sister's house, but halted outside the circle with his deputy and the catcher. Thus they danced and sang two chants, then moved on to the čẽpre lodge, situated very nearly at the east point of the village and diametrically opposite the eastern leader's one-time retreat. While they continued chanting inside the house, two of their number went around the boulevard, assembling girls and young women by letting them touch the "pure" poles, by which they led them behind themselves. When all were together in the čẽpre lodge, they jointly departed singing and dancing around the boulevard to the east leader's one-time retreat, and thence to the plaza. The commandant and his deputy walked in step behind the dancers.

In the meantime the as yet uninitiated pąntų´ktĩkama boys had assembled in front of their vų'tẽ (the western one, since they with the wakõ´kama occupy the east side of the plaza). The pepyé now suddenly ran in a body toward these boys as though about to call them to a race, but just as abruptly faced about to return to the plaza. Then they similarly ran to their own vų'tẽ's house (the eastern one, for the pepyé are stationed beside the põ´hĩkama on the west side of the plaza). There they picked up a pair of old race logs as though about to race with them, but after a few steps they threw them away. At last they trotted back to the western vų'tẽ's home and by couples began to race the pąntų´ktĩkama from the space in front of the house to the plaza. Naturally the pepyé invariably won, but the comical seriousness and intense zeal of the little boys—some of them under six years of age—in trying to minimize the distance between them and their opponents aroused the councilors' mirth as well as their benevolent appreciation.

Immediately after this race the pepyé and wakõ´kama raced three times around the boulevard with two logs already previously used. At first the former seemed about to emerge as victors, but finally the older group triumphed by virtue of their greater endurance.

Pepyé camp; dances; log race.—Now the pepyé jointly went to the Santo Estevão woods, where they cut off large bunches of anajá fronds and dragged them to the plaza. There, round a fireplace, they arranged a site, which beneeforth served

14 Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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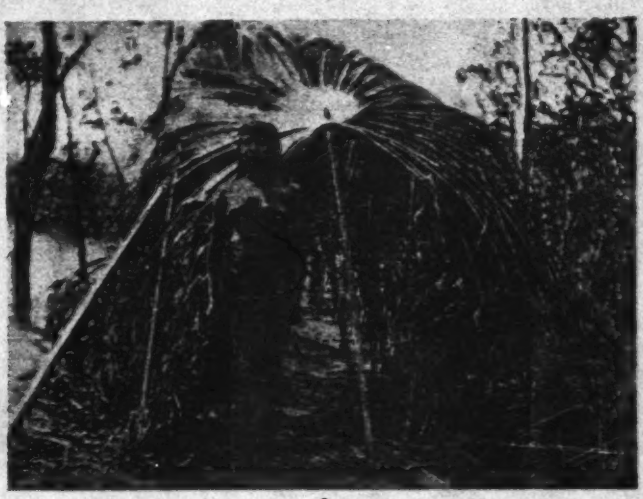

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ROUND HUT; GIRL MOURNER; SAME WITH FALCON-DOWN DRESS

961
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a b c d

FIRST COMMANDANT; DEPUTY COMMANDANT; WESTERN AND EASTERN CLASS LEADERS

[329]

1a Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 800 Timbira 809

1: Nimuendajú E-5 (1929-1936) 1946 SOS Timbira SOS

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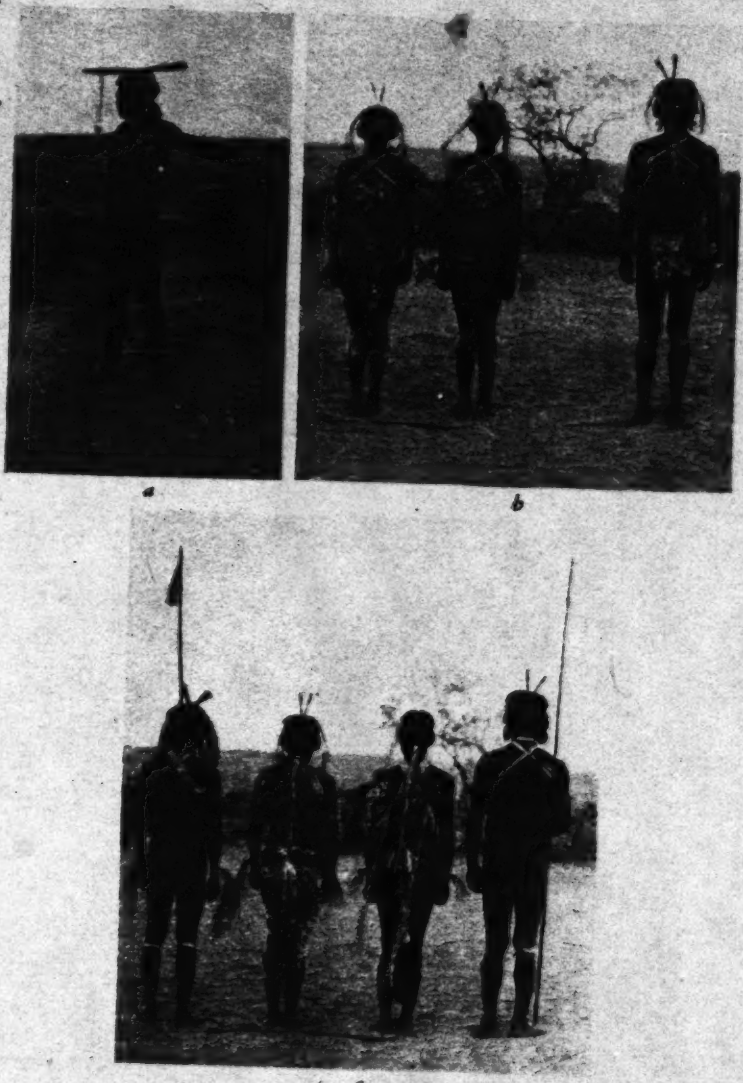

TEPYARKWÁ MESSENGER OF FISH SOCIETIES; TEPYARKWÁ GIRL ASSOCIATES OF CLOWNS; REAR VIEW OF COSTUMES

/47 cont./

Papagayo and Morro Vermelho, about 100-180 kilometers southwest of Barra do Corda.

During my journey to the Tocantins-Araguaia, which in the late summer of 1908 took me through central Maranhão in the vicinity of their area, I utilized the opportunity to make a fleeting visit to the Canella village of Suridade (1), which is located about

1. Modified form of the Portuguese word "soledade" = solitude.

32 leguas (2) from Barra do Corda, between

2. About 180 kilometers.

the moradas (3) Buritĭ dos Cavallos and

3. By "morada" is meant a settlement of one or usually several farms.

Casimba, half a day's journey away from the caravan route.

A short account of my stay with the inhabitants of Suridade may be given space here.

Canella Indian with neck cord, hip band of palm-leaf strips, wrist band of bast, and huge ear-disks (kui).

A good hour's journey behind Buritĭ dos Cavallos a scarcely noticeable, narrow Indian path branches off from the main road into the forest in a southerly direction. I took it around noon on the twelfth of October, accompanied only by one servant, after having sent my troop on ahead to Casimba.

/47 cont./

123 [137] [142] [291] [302] [304] [411] Scarcely 15 minutes later there appeared before us from out of the dry underbrush of the forest, which shortly afterward changed into densely overgrown tableland, a copper-brown, frighteningly ugly, already old Canella Indian, completely naked, with long deep-black hair flowing down over his shoulders and back (4), his ear lobes slit far apart, and holding a bow and arrows in his hands.

4. The hair style of the Canella Indians corresponds exactly to that of the Pure-came-Crans /Porecamecra/, according to the description by Martius. See Ethnographie I, 287. "The Pure-came-crans wear their hair hanging down stiffly from the crown of the head to the ears and cut it here, following the curvature of the head in such a way that a furrow is formed, under which they let it grow again and fall down to the shoulders." The hair skullcap is actually the tribal badge of the Canella, and thus the supposition that the Canella of Suridade might be a remnant of the Pure-came-Crans visited by Pohl is not unjustified.

302 171

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in his hands.

123 576 [177] The usual Brazilian greeting formulas, which were quite familiar to the old man:

"Como passou compadre /How are you, Friend/?"

"Muito obrigado. E como vae o Senhor /Very well, thank you. And how are you, Sir/?"

"Bem /Fine/." Laconically it continues. -- The Canella: "Do you have any tobacco?"

Answer: "No. -- We are going to your village." -- "I shall go with you."

[302] [411] Shortly afterward we met five more comrades of grotesque appearance, painted with urucú red and genipa juice, almost all armed with guns. -- Another greeting scene.

/47 cont./

302 765 The Herculean-built brother-in-law of the village chief is among them. His head is /48/ shaved. According to tribal custom he had taken his head hair as an offering to the grave of his recently deceased wife (1).

[171] [101] 1. I observed the same custom among the Mẽkubengokrä Kayapo, to the west of the sierra of Conceição do Araguaia, in whose villages I stayed in 1909.

123 [203] The news of my imminent arrival had already been announced in the village. So it came about that I, with my companion, rode into Suridade accompanied by a stately procession. [361] In the village, which is built circularly -- i e., all the huts lie [622] in a circle, the radius of which is about 100 meters -- I was taken [342] immediately to the hut of the chief, Manoel José de Santo Vaqueiro, which is not distinguished from the other nine huts by any externally visible feature.

123 622 576 [648] The chief had received the rank of major from the government and obviously put /illustration appears here/ great value on the form of address due him. My first query as to whether the "chefe da aldeia" /head of the village/ were present in the house seemed not to correspond to the customary local ritual. The alteration of my question to "Aqui está a casa do 'major' Vaqueiro /Is this the house of Major Vaqueiro/?" had, however, the immediate result of a reply, "estou prompto" /this is it/, uttered rapidly several times.

And at once the ruler of the village emerged from under the low entrance, in front of which lay a large log of wood.

622 292 And how he looked! He had clad himself in his most elegant finery.

A black dinner-jacket hung loosely against white trousers on his thin figure.

On his head sat a colored double-peaked soldier's cap, which, as he recounted with a pompous air, had been bestowed upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank --

/48 cont./

123 upon him by the governor as a badge of his rank -- Surrounded
622 by many curious members of his tribe, he welcomed me with
574 dignified gravity, bade me enter, and ushered me and my servant
352 to the place of honor on his bed, a wooden platform covered with
285

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The Canella Indian Luiz and his wife Donna.

123 buriti-fiber mats (Port. girao) (2), which stood apart to the right
622
574
352
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2. Pronounce the "g" in "girao" like the French "j."

of the entrance.

342 Some minutes were needed to become accustomed to the twilight in the room, which received daylight only through the door and a few gaps in the palm-straw walls.

356 The relatively great cleanliness which prevailed in the hut made a pleasant impression.

/51/

415 No. 3. Container (marímba) made out of the fruit shell
[824] of a Crescentia species (calabash tree). It is used for storing ornament feathers. (Fig. 1, /see p. 13/, 3.)

534 No. 4. Dance rattle (maraká) It consists essentially of
[824] a fruit shell of a Crescentia species, pierced in the long axis by a carved wooden handle and containing some rattle-pebbles. (Fig. 2 /see p. 15/, 5.)

No. 5. Musical instrument (1) (patuwe), a kind of signal

[171]

[113]

1. A specimen corresponding precisely to this instrument is in the Ehrenreich Karajá Collection in the Berlin Kgl. Museum für Volkerkunde. Cf. Veröffentlichungen des Kgl. Museums für Völkerkunde, Vol. II, Nos. 1/2: Ehrenreich, "Beiträge zur Völkerkunde Brasiliens /Contributions to the Ethnography of Brazil/," p. 24.

horn, consisting of a calabash fruit 54 centimeters long, hollowed out and furnished with openings on both sides, in one of which a taquara /bamboo/ tube with a blowhole on the side in the manner of our transverse flutes has been inserted as a mouthpiece by means of hard wax. (Fig. 2, 9.)

[237] No. 6. Signal horn (hãhí). Into the taquara-tube mouth-
[386] piece, which also shows a blowhole on the side, an ox horn is in-
[531] serted by means of beeswax and cotton lacing which ends in red-dyed fringes about 15 centimeters long. The mouthpiece is artistically enclosed by a black-yellow plaited decoration. (Fig. 2, 2.) /Fig. 2 appears here./

301 No. 7. Arm rings rolled out of palm-leaf strips (batsé),
824 to be worn on the upper arm. (Fig. 2, 12.)

386 No. 8. Dye sample (pũ), urucú kneaded together with clay.
302 Used for painting the face and body. (Fig. 2, 6.)

535 No. 9. Swinging sticks (klõwa) with vulture-feather deco-
[237] ration at one end. According to the interpretation of the chief,
[114] which seems really rather doubtful to me, they are supposed to